

## Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 244489

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FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE SECDEF INFO VIENNA ANKARA  
ATHENS BRUSSELS COPENHAGEN THE HAGUE LONDON OSLO OTTAWA PARIS  
ROME GENEVA USNATO FROM BONN 13 DECEMBER REPEATED

QTE S E C R E T BONN 17976

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, EEC, US, GW

SUBJECT: NATO MINISTERIAL - INITIAL POSITIVE FRG  
REACTION

BEGIN SUMMARY: FONOFF NATO DEPT HAS PROVIDED US WITH  
POSITIVE INITIAL REACTION TO NATO MINISTERIAL IN GENERAL  
AND SECRETARY'S STATEMENT IN PARTICULAR. OUR SOURCES  
SAID FRG SHARES U.S. VIEW THAT ALLIANCE AND EC IDENTITY  
MUST REINFORCE RATHER THAN CONTRADICT EACH OTHER AND  
FAVORS PROPOSAL FOR FREQUENT MEETINGS OF POL DIRECTORS  
AT NATO. OFFICIAL WAS CRITICAL OF JOBERT STATEMENT ON  
ATOMIC AGREEMENT, NOTED AUGMENTED SKEPTICISM  
OF SOME SMALLER ALLIES CONCERNING DETENTE  
AND SAID FRG AND UK HAD MADE DEMARCHES IN OSLO  
ON GREEK ISSUE. IN SUMMING UP, FONOFF OFFICIAL  
QUOTED SIR ALEC AS HAVING SAID NATO MINISTERIAL "CAME  
OUT BETTER THAN IT WENT IN," BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT TIME  
OF TESTING AHEAD FOR ALLIANCE. END SUMMARY  
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1. FONOFF NATO DEPT ACTING CHIEF CONTACTED EMBOFF DEC 13  
AND PASSED ON INITIAL POSITIVE FRG WORKING LEVEL  
REACTION TO NATO MINISTERIAL AND, PARTICULARLY, TO  
SECRETARY'S PRINCIPAL INTERVENTION. OFFICIAL SAID HE

THOUGHT SECRETARY'S FRANK STATEMENT, FOCUSING SQUARELY ON CORE PROBLEM OF RELATING EMERGING EC IDENTITY TO ALLIANCE AND KEY U.S. PARTNER, SHOULD HAVE BADLY NEEDED THERAPEUTIC EFFECT. SOURCE SAID GERMANS THOUGHT TWO POINTS IN SECRETARY'S SPEECH WERE CRUCIAL: THE STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE NECESSITY THAT EUROPEAN UNITY AND ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP REINFORCE RATHER THAN CONTRADICT ONE ANOTHER. FRG FULLY SHARES U.S. CONCERN, WHICH FONOFF REP NOTED WAS ALREADY VOICED DURING MID-SIXTIES IN SECRETARY'S BOOK "THE TROUBLED PARTNERSHIP," THAT SOME EUROPEANS MIGHT ADVOCATE CREATION OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY ANTAGONISTIC TO AMERICANS. GERMAN VIEW, STRESSED BY SCHEEL AND AFFIRMED AT MINISTERIAL, IS THAT ALLIANCE REMAINS INDISPENSABLE BASIS OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS AND FOUNDATION FOR EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS.

2. WHILE GERMANS BELIEVE THERE MAY HAVE BEEN SOME U.S. MISUNDERSTANDINGS REGARDING CHARACTER AND PURPOSE OF EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS, FONOFF REP WISHED TO EMPHASIZE AGREEMENT ON NEED FOR MORE EFFECTIVE CONSULTATIONS IN ALLIANCE BETWEEN U.S. AND EUROPEANS. GERMANS ARE PARTICULARLY HOPEFUL REGARDING SECRETARY'S PROPOSAL FOR INCLUDING POL DIRECTORS OR OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS DURING CONSULTATIONS AT NATO. OUR SOURCE SAID BRITISH POL DIRECTOR KILLICK HAD PROPOSED THIS IDEA DURING RECENT LONDON CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN SCHEEL AND DOUGLAS-HOME, ASSERTING THAT INTERCHANGES WITH USG DURING (RATHER THAN AFTER) EC-9 FORMULATION OF VIEWS COULD EASE MANY DIFFICULTIES WASHINGTON HAS WITH CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS. THE FRENCH APPARENTLY LEARNED OF THIS PROPOSAL AND REACTED WITH IRRITATION GIVEN BILATERAL UK/FRG FORMAT. AS A RESULT, DOUGLAS-HOME INDICATED THAT KILLICK HAD BEEN MISQUOTED AND WAS SOMEWHAT NEW IN HIS POSITION. OUR SOURCE SAID THAT SCHEEL AND VAN WELL FELT KILLICK'S PROPOSAL HAD BEEN A SECRET

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CONSTRUCTIVE ONE AND THAT THE FRG WAS DELIGHTED AT THE SECRETARY'S SUGGESTION TO THE NAC. HE SAID BONN UNDERSTOOD THE DISTINCTION MADE BY THE U.S. AT THE NATO MINISTERIAL TO THE EFFECT THAT THE EC COULD MAKE ITS OWN DECISIONS BUT, LIKE ANY GOOD PARTNER, SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR EXCHANGES OF VIEW WITH U.S. DURING DECISION-MAKING PROCESS. THE KEY QUESTION REMAINS THE FRENCH REACTION. JOBERT'S REMARKS DURING EC-9 MEETING WITH SECRETARY WERE POSITIVE BUT ALSO VERY GENERAL AND A DEFINITIVE FRENCH POSITION REMAINS TO BE STATED.

3. ON MIDEAST, OFFICIAL SAID FONOFF WAS ENCOURAGED BY AGREEMENT TO FOCUS ON EXIGENCIES OF THE FUTURE RATHER THAN DISPUTES OF THE PAST. FONOFF REP NOTED COMMENTS

OF SCHEEL (U.S. NATO 6056 - PARA 9), AND EMPHASIZED FRG POSITION THAT ALLIANCE WOULD BE SOLIDLY WITH U.S. DURING CONFRONTATION WITH USSR AND THAT MIDEAST DEVELOPMENTS FURTHER PROVE THE NEED FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN ALLIED CONSULTATION MACHINERY.

4. EAST-WEST. WHILE MINISTERIAL SPEECHES GENERALLY EMPHASIZED WEST-WEST AND ALLIANCE PROBLEMS, REMARKS ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS SEEMED TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR CAUTION. FONOFF WAS PARTICULARLY STRUCK BY STATEMENTS OF DUTCH AND DANISH FOREIGN MINISTERS, USUALLY MAJOR PROPONENTS OF DETENTE, WHO CONTINUED TO FAVOR CSCE AND MBFR BUT ALSO SOUNDED NOTES OF SKEPTICISM.

5. AS TO CONTROVERSY RE JUNE 22 U.S./SOVIET AGREEMENT ON PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, FONOFF REP SAID THE GERMANS FAILED TO UNDERSTAND WHY JOBERT RAISED THESE QUESTIONS IN AGGRAVATED FORM IN VIEW OF THE CARE WHICH THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY HAD TAKEN TO EXPLAIN THIS AGREEMENT TO NATO PERM REPS IN SAN CLEMENTE. WHILE BONN ASSUMES THE FRENCH OCCASIONALLY MAKE THEIR ANTI-AMERICAN UTTERANCES IN ORDER TO CAMOUFLAGE MOVEMENT IN FRENCH POLICY TOWARD DEFENSE COOPERATION, THIS THEORY IN NO WISE HOLDS FOR A SECRET NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING. IN SHORT, GERMANS BELIEVED JOBERT STATEMENT "WAS NOT VERY CLEVER AND JUSTIFIED TOUGH REACTION FROM THE SECRETARY."

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YM FONOFF REP SAID FRG REGRETTED NORWEGIAN AND OTHER STATEMENTS AT MINISTERIAL ON GREEK ISSUE. DESPITE PRESSURE FROM SPD BUNDESTAF PARLIAMENTARY GROUP (BONN 17648), GERMAN AMBASSADOR DID MAKE DEMARCHE IN EFFORT TO DISSUADE NORWEGIANS FROM STRONG STATEMENT; OUR SOURCE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD BRITISH ALSO MAKE SIMILAR DEMARCHE.

7. IN CLOSING OUR SOURCE SAID THE FONOFF BELIEVED THE MINISTERIAL HAD SUCCEEDED IN DISSIPATING SOME OF THE GLOOMY ATMOSPHERE AND CLOUDS THAT HUNG OVER THE ALLIANCE. THE MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND THE EC-9 HAD BEEN PARTICULARLY CONSTRUCTIVE. EMBOFF NOTED USEFUL INTERCHANGES AT MINISTERIAL BUT EMPHASIZED THAT TIME OF TESTING AHEAD FOR ALLIANCE, THAT TOUGH PRACTICAL QUESTIONS MUST NOW BE TACKLED AND THAT FURTHER DRIFT IN ATLANTIC RELATIONS WOULD BE BOTH UNSATISFACTORY AND EROSIIVE. FONOFF REP FULLY ENDORSED THIS POSITION, PARTICULARLY NOTING SHIFT IN EMPHASIS OF FRG FOREIGN POLICY FROM OSTPOLITIK TO EUROPEAN AND ATLANTIC RELATIONS. ON KEY PRACTICAL QUESTIONS, HOWEVER, OFFICIAL REMAINED UNCERTAIN WHETHER RESTRICTIVE ROLE OF FRANCE WOULD CONTINUE TO CHANGE AND HOW TO DEAL WITH DIFFICULT

PROBLEM OF BURDEN SHARING. EMBOFF RECALLED CONCRETE  
STEPS PROPOSED BY SECRETARY AT MINISTERIAL (U.S.NATO  
6052 - PARAS 48-52), EMPHASIZING THE NEED TO GET ON  
WITH ELABORATION OF SATISFACTORY DECLARATIONS, TO ACT  
AS PARTNERS RATHER THAN IN CONTRADICTION IN MAJOR  
ISSUES AND TO RESOLVE SUCH PROBLEMS AS BURDEN SHARING  
AND ENERGY CRISIS IN SPIRIT OF COMMONALITY. EMBOFF  
CONCLUDED BY URGING GERMANS TO DO THEIR BEST WITHIN THE  
COMMUNITY TO BRING THE FRENCH ALONG ON THESE MATTERS.  
CASH UNQTE  
RUSH

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